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gow International Exhibition of 1901, and in general a contribution to the *Kulturgeschichte* and archaeology of Scotland from prehistoric times to the middle of the last century. The book offers, on the one hand, a series of reproductions, of varying excellence, of the pictures and objects which were brought together for the Glasgow exhibition, and on the other a group of essays by several authors treating the periods illustrated by the collection. It may be said at once that the illustrations of this volume actually illustrate, and that the text is very far from being mere letterpress.

The well-known Holyrood portraits of James III. and Margaret of Denmark have been more successfully reproduced elsewhere, notably in the first volume of Mr. Lang's *History of Scotland*; Oudry's portrait of Mary Stuart has fared even worse. An unusual portrait of Cromwell marked (as has been neatly said of the portraits of George Washington) by an expression of austere sheepishness, will arouse interest, and the same is true of the little woodcut (Fig. 163) after a portrait of Arabella Stuart, full of esprit and individuality. But the gem of the collection is the delicious portrait of Graham of Claverhouse, successfully mezzotinted, which constitutes the best claim of the book to artistic excellence. The reproductions of illuminations which accompany Mr. Neilson's essay on early literary manuscripts are very good. But in the quaint lines inscribed on the Arbuthnot missal *orbem* should be read for *urbem* to give the sense which the context and Mr. Neilson's rendering require.

The literary work of the volume has been entrusted to competent hands. Dr. Joseph Anderson treats of Prehistoric Remains; Professor Medley — a recent acquisition to Scotland — of Medieval History; and Dr. Hay Fleming, naturally enough, of Mary, Queen of Scots, James VI., and King, Kirk, and Covenant. Among the essays grouped under the title Aspects of Scottish Life one notes Mr. Renwick's Scottish Burghal Charters; Sir Herbert Maxwell's Deer Stalking, Fishing, and Falconry; Mr. Kerr's Archery, Golf, and Curling; and Dr. David Murray's Scottish Universities.

The work will be found a useful and agreeable repertorium of Scottish archaeology executed on the whole very creditably. Were one disposed to find fault, attention might be called to the quality of the paper, which makes the volume intolerably heavy, and to the wretchedness of some of the full-page plates, notably a very interesting portrait of Flora MacDonald quite spoiled in the reproduction. There is, however, a competent index for which much should be pardoned.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By ANDREW LANG. Vol. II., 1546-1600. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company; Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1902. Pp. xiv, 575.)

IN a stout volume of upwards of five hundred closely printed pages Mr. Lang deals with something less than a century of Scottish history.

But if the period from the death of Cardinal Beaton to that of James VI. is short in time, it is in character so interesting and so critical as to justify, even in a general history, such fullness of treatment. The ground has been traversed so often that one turns naturally to a new writer's interpretation of the complex of facts and guesses that constitutes the history of the Scottish Reformation rather than to his disposition or readjustment of the material. Mr. Lang resolves the problem into three great factors, namely, the indiscipline and cupidity of the lords; the theocratic ambition of the kirk, convinced of its own infallibility and continuing inspiration; and the *intransigeance* of the Stuarts, equally convinced of their divine right to govern absolutely. The lords, whatever their personal iniquities (black enough in all conscience), were as a class aiming at a definite political ideal, the perpetuation of that feudal state which had existed in Scotland throughout the middle ages. The kirk manifestly was striving to set up a theocracy, and the Stuarts a more or less absolute monarchy. The shock and attrition of these incompatible systems are characteristic of medieval rather than of modern history, but there, naturally, the strife of competing creeds and the acute *odium theologicum* characteristic of such a competition were wanting. Here, then, may be found one of the distinctive notes of the Scottish Reformation, a retarded national development overtaken by a grave religious problem.

The part played by the lords is sufficiently repulsive whether it be judged from the point of view of patriotism or of personal loyalty. Mr. Lang thinks that few if any of them were moved, in spite of their copious professions, by considerations of religion or conscience (pp. 377, 402, 525). What they sought was "the right to commit high treason with impunity." On the score of patriotism something might be said for Lethington, a statesman who, however dark his methods, still worked for the reasonable solution promised by the union of the two crowns. But Lethington, as Mr. Lang has shown, was concerned in the murder of Darnley, and what for him was worse, the Queen whom he betrayed had proof "in black and white" of his complicity.

The boundless claims of the kirk are well set forth by Mr. Lang. The minister, according to the Book of Common Order having prayed for "the assistance of God's Holy Spirit," was to preach "as the same shall move his heart" (p. 80). He became "a reed through which the Lord spoke" (p. 475). The impossibility of harmonizing with a monarchical state a church so directed is well illustrated in James's discussion with Mr. Bruce, an Edinburgh preacher, in regard to the King's part in the Gowrie business (p. 470). Bruce professed himself convinced of the King's innocence, but he would not promise to say so in the pulpit except "as I shall find myself to be moved by God's Spirit." It is Becket over again consenting to the Constitutions *salvo ordine suo*. England had long before found a solution for that problem. Mr. Lang returns to this point repeatedly with frequent and apt illustration.

The Stuarts, indeed, for all their faults, were proper subjects for tragedy. Charged with the belated problem of vindicating the royal

power and with the new and terrible religious question, the wisest and most moderate of sovereigns might well have failed. But when the energies of a powerful neighbor were directed to the maintenance of feudal anarchy in Scotland, and when the strong personalities of Mary Stuart and her son, their passions, their convictions, and their consciences were involved, the task became impossible. As Mr. Lang points out, moreover, the two tendencies which had the future on their side, religious toleration and democracy, were ranged in sharp and fatal opposition. The kirk, which stood for democracy of a certain sort, was by its very nature incapable of tolerating any other form of religion. Mary and James, on the other hand, who were willing to grant some measure of religious toleration, could not, of course, hear anything of democracy.

It may be thought that in this solution of the problem Mr. Lang has omitted or at least neglected (for he mentions it once on p. 425) a fourth and extremely important factor. This is the virtually complete lack of any constitutional machinery by means of which the will of the nation might have made itself felt and such changes as were inevitable might have been accomplished with more regularity and less violence than was actually the case. Although democratic, the kirk represented, of course, only one party. There was no means by which the opposing forces of the nation could peacefully check and modify one another. This omission constitutes a grave fault in the present work, but one that is inevitable because the special studies which would have enabled a general writer like Mr. Lang to give due emphasis to constitutional matters are still wanting.

In the interests of the *causa victa* Mr. Lang has deliberately set before himself the purpose of showing that all the good was not to be found among the "godly" nor all the evil among those of the ancient faith. He believes that "the hardships of the Catholics, after the Reformation, have been rather cavalierly treated by many of our historians," and he has accordingly "dwelt upon a point too much neglected." This is altogether wholesome and desirable, particularly as Mr. Lang is quite ready with his sympathy for the kirk when it falls on the evil days of the seventeenth century. It is refreshing to find a Scot defending Mary of Guise against the often alleged charges of perfidy in her dealings with the reformers in 1558 and 1559. Again, Mr. Lang's treatment of Knox is a very useful corrective to much that has been written of "that notable man of God." His superstition and his political shuffling and bad faith are illustrated from his own writings (pp. 35, 58). The current generalization that Calvinism, owing to its abstract dialectic, had a kind of elective affinity for the Scottish national genius is rejected. Mr. Lang believes, on the contrary, that "Calvinism meant a strenuous economy in thinking" and "that Knox's system really owed its charm to its thriftiness of thought and money — its concrete practical character"; again, "That his gospel and example were ideally excellent, or an unmixed boon to his country few of his countrymen who know Knox and his Reformation at first hand, are likely to contend." Finally, in

an excellent passage on the death of Knox (p. 247) Mr. Lang writes, “he was the greatest force working in the direction of resistance to constituted authority—itself then usually corrupt, but sometimes better than anarchy tempered by political sermons.”

This is of a piece with the prevailing tendency of the book to emphasize the seamy side of the Reformation. On the whole, Mr. Lang believes that morally the movement was a failure. Those who take the traditional view of the Reformation, he writes, boast that it raised the moral tone of the country; “to do this was the object of the Presbyterian clergy, but their own manifestoes constantly bear testimony to their failure.” To this it might fairly be objected that since the Presbyterian clergy set up a new standard for the conduct of life, the evidence of their manifestoes that the country was not yet conforming to that new standard does not prove that its moral tone had not been raised. This and similar passages (pp. 402, 525) sufficiently illustrate the *Tendenz* of the work, which serves to supplement and correct Professor Hume Brown’s second volume.

With regard to Mary Stuart Mr. Lang has already spoken in detail in a separate study. Here he tells the poignant story with spirit and discretion, and his final judgment may be recorded: “On almost every individual fact a fight may be made for the Queen,” but “the whole series of events” begins to be conclusive against her. The truth will probably not emerge and men will continue, on Newman’s theory of the sum of probabilities, to account Mary guiltless or with Mr. Lang to believe her “blameless but not innocent.”

The vexed question of King James’s share in the Gowrie mystery may be mentioned in passing, for here, too, Mr. Lang’s studies have overflowed into a separate volume. He believes that the affair was no mystery at all, but simply an unsuccessful attempt of the Ruthvens to kidnap the King. But this view has not passed unchallenged.¹

The present volume is on the whole a much better piece of work than its predecessor. For one thing, the authorities on which it rests are more abundant than in the earlier period and require a treatment which Mr. Lang is well fitted to give them. But in addition to the neglect of constitutional considerations already noted, two serious defects should be pointed out. In the first place, the work does not rest on any solid foundation of economic study, the interpretation of events is almost uniformly political or personal. Without wishing *infandum renovare dolorem* or ranging oneself as a disciple of Professor Lam-precht, one may still desire to see a greater importance given to economic considerations than Mr. Lang has judged appropriate. In the second place, one feels that in the largely literary problem of making the tangled and obscure transactions that fill the period of James’s minority assume unity and form Mr. Lang has failed of an adequate solution. At times he becomes a mere annalist, and that too in a style that is little

¹ See the *Athenaeum*, Nos. 3919, 3921, 3922, 3924, 3925.

short of telegraphic. With this exception Mr. Lang has shown himself more than equal to the literary requirements of his task. Those who habitually thread the jungles of German historical literature will welcome with profound gratitude his delectable humor, his lightness of touch, and his never-failing wit.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

The Gowrie Conspiracy and its Official Narrative. By SAMUEL COWAN, J.P. (London : Sampson Low, Marston, and Company. 1902. Pp. x, 264.)

MR. COWAN'S arguments are invalidated by his own choice of material and its treatment. Nearly one-half of his book consists of what the author calls "reproductions," but which are really garbled condensations of official documents or secondary narratives. The former, with a few unimportant exceptions, are not printed from the originals in the archives, or from authoritative versions such as are given in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*. Mr. Cowan presents, apparently by choice, inaccurate renditions of loose copies.

The first "reproduction" is the "Narrative of James VI."—called by Mr. Cowan in the running head-line of the chapter and on the title-page of the book, "The Official Narrative." The appellation is erroneous and misleading. What Mr. Cowan reproduces is not the King's narrative at all; it is a garbled condensation of Tytler's narrative (Vol. IX. pp. 306-317, ed. 1843) of the events of August 5, based upon the Official Narrative properly so-called, Henderson's deposition, and various documents printed by Pitcairn. Apart from the misrepresentation of the nature of this fundamental document, Mr. Cowan is inaccurate in presentation of fact. One example must suffice for all. Tytler states—a point of capital importance—that Ruthven despatched Andrew Henderson to Gowrie from Falkland "instantly" "on the first *check*" in the hunting; Mr. Cowan (pp. 11-12) places the sending "during the ride" of James to Perth in Ruthven's company *after* the hunt.

Elsewhere Mr. Cowan reproduces the Sprot-Logan letters, using Tytler's incomplete versions as his basis. In all the letters he varies both from Tytler's and from more authoritative versions, altering the spelling and abbreviations, interpolating and omitting individual words, and changing words and punctuation so as to obscure the meaning. In Letter I. alone, by omitting portions summarized by Tytler, he at one stroke drops eighty-two words, at another forty-three, and at another ten. Now, by the publication of Mr. Lang's article in *Blackwood's* for April, 1902, the discussion of the authenticity of the Sprot-Logan letters entered upon a new phase, one important feature of which concerns orthography. Mr. Cowan asserts flatly (pp. 160, 183) that Mr. Lang's conclusions are erroneous. These reproductions place Mr. Cowan, as editor and critic, upon the horns of a dilemma: he cannot fairly contradict Mr. Lang unless he has scrutinized and compared originals: if he